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ABSTRACT

Faculty career changes through retirement, a move to another institution, or a move to nonacademic employment were examined through interviews with 134 faculty members who had left Pennsylvania State University, a multi-campus research university. The research design incorporated the concept of "social information processing" (Pfeffer, Salancik, 1978). Analysis of the data was aided by use of the "dual factor" notion of "motivators" and "hygienes" proposed by Hetzberg (1957, 1967). The environments from which the factors emanated were established as personal conditions, the local situation, and the external environment. Interviews were content analyzed by abstracting key phrases that were grouped to yield general findings and specific observations on each group of subjects. Findings common to the three groups confirmed the individualized nature of decision-making, the personalized choice sets, and the heavy dependence on reading the environment rather than on interpersonal exchange. High value for autonomy in areas of expertise, for control over the work conditions, and for recognition of good work rather than from advantages of position was emphasized. Moves to nonacademic work gave more importance to events outside the university. It is suggested that universities may consider developing an accelerated flow model, which would view the institutional boundaries as more open and would cultivate more exchange with the extramural environment of practice and application. Policies to make change easier would constitute the chief mechanism for opening a wide range of mid-career options. (Author/SW)

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CAREER CHANGE AMONG ACADEMICS: DIMENSIONS OF DECISION

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In a span of eight years an extensive literature on the nature of the academic profession has been generated. Earlier only the landmark studies of Wilson (1942), Caplow and McGee (1958), and Machlup (1962) along with the more specialized analyses of Hagstrom (1965), Cole and Cole (1973) and Crane (1972) provided starting points for inquiry. It is the diversity of recent studies rather than the number, that suggests there still may be more mystery than mystique in the professoriate.

This study belongs in the new lines of research because the topic, career change, was in the past either ignored or viewed as patent evidence of unfitness, disloyalty, or even betrayal. Now it is approached with curiosity if not acceptance. Our subjects were faculty members who departed from a large multi-campus research university during the years 1978 and 1979. Telephone interviews were conducted with 134 out of the 260 eligible for inclusion in the study. The interview protocol was semi-structured and many of the conversations were carried out by two researchers, one a passive listener to insure completeness and reliability. The design incorporated the concept of "social information processing" recently introduced by Salancik and Pfeffer (1978) and, to aid analysis, used the "dual factor" notion of "motivators" and "hygienes" laid out by Hetzberg (1957, 1967). The environments from which the factors emanated were established as personal conditions, the local situation, and the external environment. Interviews were content analyzed by abstracting key phrases which then were grouped to yield general findings and specfic observations on each class of subjects: retirees, those who changed institutions, and those who moved to non-academic employment. These data bring together personal, situational, and environmental factors, often studied separately, around the individual decisions of academics.

Current approaches to research on faculty, the setting for this study, and the sample characteristics are described below. A brief note on methodology is included before moving to the general and particular findings. The caveat is that this study deals only with a significant marginal group, not all faculty.

Current Approaches

With the faculty numbering about 400,000 in 3,200 postsecondary institutions, there is plenty of opportunity for descriptive, analytical, and policy oriented research. Because it is so clear that the 1980s will bring major change to the profession, one line of studies seeks to describe the present situation and to contribute to a fuller understanding of how it came about. A second line of exploration aims at programs of action, either individual, institutional, or national that will shape the future. In the first category are the studies that explicate the academic career path using such approaches as personal histories, analysis of intellectual pedigrees, and most recently, the application of life-style research from development psychology. Focusing as it does on one kind of decision the study reported here belongs to this class of inquiry. The active mode to this line of study is found in career development programs, which emphasize planning for self actualization (Baldwin 1981). At the macro level, studies are found that define the attributes and boundaries of the whole profession (Ladd, Lipset 1975; Halsey, Trow 1971; Wilson 1979; Lewis et al. 1980). Still others deal with the dynamics of the academic population, the flow in and out of the profession and the changing mix of specialties (Solmon 1979; NAS/NRC 1968). Finally, the challenges of change raise technical questions that must be answered in terms of fiscal and personnel management (Patton 1979; TIAA-CREF 1981; Alm 1977).

Still ahead is a range of studies in the sociology of the professions that will link the changes which academics see as their own with the tidal sweep that appears to be moving across all the learned professions and the high-technology or knowledge-rich occupations.

The Setting and the Sample

Although this research has been based at one institution, it is not a study of events in one setting. The Pennsylvania State University has been referred to as "one university geographically dispersed" and there are twenty-two different physical locations around the state. The largest campus in terms of enrollment, staff, and physical size is at University Park. The other twenty-one sites in the Commonwealth Campus system have developed and stabilized in response to many factors, not just one. Seventeen two-year campuses offer associate degrees and freshman and sophomore level baccalaureate work, one campus offers four-year baccalaureate programs (Behrend), one campus offers junior, senior, and graduate level work (Capitol), one campus offers solely graduate work (Radnor), and, one campus is the medical school (Hershey).

The faculty: A general picture of the 2,991 full-time instructional and research staff at The Pennsylvania State University as of September 1978 can be seen in Table 1, compiled from date prepared for the Higher Education General Information Survey (HEGIS). Of this total, 1,498 (50%) were tenured and 813 (27%) were tenure eligible. Professorial titles are held by 2,379 (80%) dispersed across the rank structures of full, associate, or assistant professor. The "other" category includes research associates and assistants for a total of 249 persons, 224 of whom are at the University Park main campus. By far, the largest number of instructional staff (1,869) is located at

University Park. All the Commonwealth campuses incorporate 674 instructional staff.

By September 1979, the general picture had not changed drastically (Table 1). The total full-time instructional and research staff increased by eleven to 3,002. The number of assistant professors for all twenty-two campuses remained steady at 1,001 whereas the combined number of persons with the rank of full, associate, or assistant professor decreased by six to 2,373 (79% of the total). Of the 3,002 persons, 1,621 (54%) were tenured, 678 (23%) were tenure eligible, and 703 (23%) were not eligible for tenure.

A slightly different configuration gained by using the designations of the personnel office yields additional interesting results (See Table 2). In 1978 September 2,946 persons were classified as "academic" on continuous or standing appointments. This figure includes instructors and librarians but excludes department heads, who are classified as "academic administrators." During this same time, 746 academics were on "fixed appointments" contracts with a specific ending date. By September 1979 the number of academics on continuous appointments decreased to 2,863 whereas the number on fixed term appointments increased to 793.

In this study, the primary focus is on faculty decisions to leave the institution. The results might have been distorted by including librarians (even though they had "academic" status and were tenured or tenure eligible), researchers who do not have a professorial rank structure, and faculty on fixed term appointments. Therefore, these three categories of academics were not considered in our sample. In addition, instructional and research staff of the Hershey Medical School

TABLE 1

FACULTY CHARACTERISTICS: RANK AND TENURE IN 1978 WITH 1979 TOTALS ADDED

		RANK					TENURE		
	Total	Prof.	Assoc.	Asst.	Instr.	Other	Tenured	Eligible	Not Eligible
Commonwealth Campuses	674	16	123	382	152	1	284	221	169
Behrend Campus	86	0	17	45	23	1	25	33	28
Capitol Campus	120	17	36	53	14	0	69	33	18
Hershey Campus	237	30	59	104	21	23	57	114	66
Radnor Campus	5	1	4	0	0	0	5	0	0
University Park Campus	1,869	578	497	417	153	224	1,058	412	399
TOTAL	2,991	642	736	1,001	363	249	1,498	813	680
1979 TOTALS	3,002	655	717	1,001	378	251	1,621 (54%)	678 (23%)	703 (23%)

TABLE 2

FACULTY BY TYPE OF APPOINTMENT: PENN STATE

	Type of Appointment	
	Sept. 1979	Sept. 1978
Standing continuous[a]	2,863	2,946
Fixed Term[b] non-continuous	793	746

[a]includes instructors and librarians but not department heads

[b]includes full-time and part-time

were omitted from the study. Different career dynamics are at work because of medical profession and the staffing of the medical schools. The focus, therefore, was on persons with the rank of assistant, associate, or full professor who were tenured or tenure eligible and on full-time continuous standing appointments at twenty campuses of The Pennsylvania State University.

For 1978, the deletion of the 193 Hershey faculty members with the rank of full, associate, or assistant professor from the total number of persons with these ranks (2,379) results in 2,186 or 73 percent of the total number of full-time instructional and research staff at Penn State. For 1979 the deletion of 203 Hershey faculty from the 2,373 persons of full, associate, or assistant professor rank resulted in 2,170 or 72 percent of the total full-time instructional and research staff.

Procedure

Before obtaining the names of the persons who left Penn State in 1978 and 1979 the approval of the Human Subjects Committee at the University was received. Two separate sources provided the names of eligible subjects. The Personnel Office held the names of all the faculty (as defined above) who left the employ of Penn State without being able to qualify for a pension. The Office of Employee Benefits provided the names of all persons who "retired" meaning they were receiving a pension. Pensioners were not necessarily sixty-five years old--in fact, one was as young as forty. In addition, information on age, rank, campus location, and department was obtained from regular lists. The current mailing address was obtained by contacting the departmental, divisional, or campus office.

The total number of potential subjects (N=271) included two subgroups. The names of those professors meeting our criteria who left Penn State during the 1978 calendar year were obtained in December 1978 and January 1979. These persons (N=113) were contacted in the Spring of 1979. The names of professors who left Penn State during the 1979 calendar year were obtained in December 1979 and January 1980, and this group (N=147) was contacted in the Spring of 1980. The actual sample that received the mailing numbered 260, since eleven persons were removed from the sample due to living abroad, having died, or having no forwarding address (Table 3).

The same process was followed with each interview wave. Each professor received a letter explaining the project, a list of questions, and a stamped postcard on which to indicate their preferences for interview dates and times along with their present type of activity. For 1978, there was one mass mailing, followed three weeks later by a follow-up mailing. For 1979, one slight change in mailing procedure was made. Initial letters were mailed in batches of twenty-five per week over a period of six weeks, so as to distribute the interview times more evenly. There was one full follow-up mailing for the 1979 group. Table 3 indicates the total number of persons receiving the mailing, the number of respondents, and the number of nonrespondents. The response rate for 1978 was 47 percent and for 1979 it was 55 percent. Table 4 provides an analysis of the total number of people actually being asked to participate by rank and termination status (i.e., pension or nonpension). In both 1978 and 1979, the largest group of people contacted were assistant professors/nonpensioned (N=116), followed by full professors/pensioned (N=59). The smallest number were full professors/nonpensioned (N=12).

TABLE 3

FACULTY SAMPLE: RESPONSE BY YEAR

Year	Eligible Number	Useable #	Respondents	Nonrespondents	Response Rate
1978	115	113[a]	53	60	$\frac{53}{113} = .47$
1979	156	147[b]	81	66	$\frac{81}{147} = .55$
TOTALS	271	260	134	126	$\frac{134}{260} = .52$

(a) two persons were removed from the sample before the initial mailing because of "living in a foreign country."

(b) nine persons were removed from the sample before the intital mailing becuase of "living in a foreign country." (6); "no address available" (1); and "deceased before the study began, but after retirement" (2).

(c) four respondents could not be reached.

TABLE 4

FACULTY SAMPLE: RESPONDENTS BY RANK & PENSION CONDITION

	Nonpension	Pension	1978 Totals	Nonpension	Pension	1979 Totals
Professors	4	26	30	8	33	41
Associate Professors	10	12	22	12	14	26
Assistant Professors	56	5	61	60	20	80
TOTALS	70	44	113	80	67	147

Each person who returned the postcard was called for a telephone interview at the time and date they specified. The interviews lasted from five minutes to one hour with the average being about fifteen minutes. The interviews were not tape-recorded. The interviewer's schedule of questions varied only slightly from the list of questions mailed to the professors. When possible, one person interviewed while another took notes. When this was not feasible, one person took notes and also asked the questions. Depending on the category of change reported on the postcard, a set of probing questions directed to the "retired," "changed institutions," "shifted to nonacademic employment," or "unemployed" condition was introduced. The number of interviewers in each activity for the combined years of 1978 and 1979 was as follows: Retired, N=33; Changed institutions, N=57; Nonacademic employment, N=36; and Unemployed, N=3 (Table 5).

Notes on Methodology

The framework for this study includes one guiding assumption about the academic profession, an adaptation of the concept of "social information processing" to describe the functional aspects of decisions, the application of Hertzberg's "dual factor" theory for description of the influencing factors, and the introduction of three kinds of environments to account for the sources of influence.

An assumption of this inquiry is that professors are independent professionals who conduct their practice in the setting of the institution. Their "independence" resides in their expert training in a specialized field or discipline. To the values and traditions of that discipline goes a share of allegiance and commitment. However, since the academic profession can only be applied in the setting of an

TABLE 5

FACULTY SAMPLE: NATURE OF CAREER CHANGE AND YEAR

Year	Retired	Changed Institutions	Nonacademic	Unemployed	Total
1978	13	19	19	2	53
1979	20	38	17	1	76
TOTALS	33	57	36	3	134

institution another share of allegiance and commitment necessarily goes to the college or university and its welfare. The balance between these two demands on allegiance, "fealties" the ancients would have called them, is both fragile and unstable even under the best circumstances. It is the resolution of that uncertain state by means of individual decisions that makes the whole academic world such an individualistic enterprise. That condition shapes the nature of this analysis. Hypothetically one might identify the factors that appear in the decisions of a large number of academics, as we are doing here. What seems to deny our treating this pool of factors by statistical means, factor analysis, clustering, or regression treatments, at least at this point, is that individuals add their own weightings to individual factors and among factors. Similar decisions, then, are reached in highly individual ways so the logic of this inquiry begins with individual decisions reported by individuals in their own terms.

This assumption has something to say about policies in the academic world. It is virtually impossible to generate particular responses by policy enactments. On the other hand, as the data developed here will show, policies can create conditions that encourage choices within a desirable <u>range</u> of outcomes that can benefit both the institution and the individual.

<u>Social information processing</u>: To derive general inferences from individual reports on career decisions an interpretive framework is needed. Such a framework has been built around the view that persons in the sample have made an adaptive decision and acted on it. It is generally acknowledged that a set of attitudes, beliefs, understandings, and expectations--perhaps best categorized as "needs"--lie behind such

behavior. "Needs satisfaction" approaches and "expectancy" theory have been applied often to job situations (Alderfer 1977). However, Salancik and Pfeffer (1978) recently put forward a quite different concept of "social information processing" to explain attitudinal patterns in work situations. The authors state: "The social information processing approach proceeds from the fundamental premise that individuals, as adaptive organisms, adapt attitudes, behaviors, and beliefs to their social context and to the reality of their own past and present behavior and situation. This premise leads inexorably to the conclusion that one can learn most about individual behavior by studying the informational and social environment within which behavior occurs and to which it adapts" (Salancik, Pfeffer 1978b). The basic notion has deep roots in sociological theory springing from W. I. Thomas' concept of "definition of the situation" (Parsons et al. 1961). Such a situational approach seems particularly suited to faculty in late career stages when "needs" are no longer sharply and consistently defined. The process of individual analysis is more likely to be one of reaction and adjustment to new conditions, anticipated or unanticipated, than one of active planning for goal attainment.

Social information processing theory proposes that events and conditions in the environments are taken up in a selective way. Attention is focused, information is coded, and meaning is derived under the influence of a social context. Related events in the past or present give particular salience to certain occurrences. Norms and expectations implicit in the situation influence the derivation of meaning and consequences. This process of selective observation and translation provides the individual with a set of attitudes on which a

commitment to action can be based. It is well to note that information may be gathered from colleagues or groups by direct communication or by means of cues and inferences "read out" of the environment. The information processing idea was used to organize the semi-structured interview. As respondents reported how they put their decisions together, it was possible to discern key factors and the weight of influence they carried.

Hertzberg's dual factor theory: The interpretation was further developed by classifying statements in the light of Herzberg's "dual factor" theory (1967). Growing out of worker assessments of their jobs the Herzberg factors are classed as "motivators" or "hygienes." The motivators are positive in tone, related to satisfaction, and conducive to good performance. Hygienes, largely independent of the motivators, are seen as conditions which contribute to dissatisfaction but do not produce linear improvement in satisfaction after a certain point is reached. They are seen as intrinsic to job situations, not the person reporting.

The Herzberg concepts are fully developed into a theory of motivation and job satisfaction. In this study, however, the use of the concepts of "satisfiers" and "dissatisfiers" is quite limited. As in the original Herzberg studies, the factors provide a way of assigning a positive or negative valence to respondent statements. Critics of the "dual factor theory" of job satisfaction and motivation have maintained that the broad derivations are method-bound and dependent on interviewer judgments (House, and Wigdor 1967). An examination of studies using the Herzberg descriptors shows that, while they are not generalizeable to all populations, they hold up reasonably well with subjects who are in professional or para-professional jobs.

Among the "satisfiers" are achievement, recognition, advancement, responsibility, and the work itself. Those that can have negative or "dissatisfying" effects are policy and administration, supervision, salary, interpersonal relations with superiors and with peers. The use of these categories makes it possible to address several persistent questions. Whether voluntary departures are the product of "push" or "pull" has been debated since Caplow and McGee emphasized the former as the prime mover (Ferris 1973). Of equal interest is the question of whether "policy and administration" can be a "motivator" rather than a "hygiene." Certainly much of the current thinking is based on the idea that early retirement, partial appointments, short-term contracts, and similar options will function as inducements.

The environment from which the factors emerged constitutes the final side of our framework. The personal situation one must deal with in any decision is the easiest to discuss. Circumstances of health, family, and preference often carry intrinsic explanations for a decision. The work or task environment is more complex. The term situational conditions is used here to include events in the work group, department, division, college, or institution that generated factors that went into the decision.

This is a broad category that covers policy and the administration of the policy as it affects personnel, academic programs, or fiscal matters. Also included are collegial relations that arise from the community of scholarship. The extramural environment lies beyond the institutional boundary and may play a part in individual decisions. Certainly the state of the discipline, the labor market structure, and the discipline's tradition of identity and prestige are important. The

national mood and the nature of public priorities contribute to the decisions of sensitive or socially conscious individuals.

In summary: Respondents to this study reported the nature of their own decisions on a significant aspect of their career. The statements were classified in terms of positive or negative weights. They were also classified in terms of the environment in which they developed. An examination of the respective sectors of the resulting matrix, Figure 1, yields some general conclusions about career change decisions. There were also some "common sense" items to be looked at. Since much is made of career planning, there was an effort to probe any suggestion of conscious design. It also seemed possible that particular events might "trigger" decisions so the interviews were alert to precipitating influences.

		ENVIRONMENTS		
		PERSONAL CONDITIONS	SITUATIONAL FEATURES	EXTERNAL INFLUENCES
RETIREES	Motivators (+) =		M	M
	Hygienes (-) =		H	H
INSITUTION CHANGERS	Motivators (+) =		M	M
	Hygienes (-) =		H	H
MOVERS TO NON-ACADEMIC EMPLOYMENT	Motivators (+) =		M	M
	Hygienes (-) =		H	H

Figure 1

SCHEME OF ANALYSIS AND DESCRIPTION

MOTIVATORS

ACHIEVEMENT:	completion of plan solvng a problem publication	making money demonstrate rightness	seeing results security
RECOGNITION:	praise, acceptance reward, notice appreciation encouragement	status or position credit for work	importance, power prestige, self-respect
WORK ITSELF:	routine varied challenging tension & pressure	creative too easy boring duties	appropriateness to training initiative personal convenience preference
RESPONSIBILITY:	active planning freedom to work	supervisory responsibility for others less supervision	authority independence
ADVANCEMENT:	growth in skills knowledge advanced status merit advancement	formal promotion opportunity for tenure of promotion tenure	

HYGIENES

POLICY & ADMINISTRATION:	organization of work personnel policies goal congruence	participation in decisions structure of authority promotion policies information	
SUPERVISION-TECHNICAL:	competence of superior favoritism/ fairness	honesty sincerity seriousness priority	consideration interaction
SALARY:	increase comparation salary	potential increase standard of living	benefits
INTERPERSONAL RELATIONS:	friendly supportive	openness collegiality	
WORKING CONDITIONS:	facilities funds location and surroundings	workload environmental turmoil or peace	company security societal effects
HEALTH, FAMILY			

General Conclusions

This University has had a good system of fiscal planning with five year horizons since about 1975. The situation in 1978 and 1979 was especially interesting because those are the first years in whch the hard requirements of austerity budgeting took hold. There is no doubt that some part of the comments are the reflection of first efforts to handle the penetrating facts of the fiscal future. Against that background these general conclusions can be drawn from the interview material.

While there are no massive omissions in policy there are several areas which reflect deficiencies mostly because the guidelines were set down in far simpler times when the main goal was to hold onto faculty. The basic idea of tenure was not contested by the respondents but there was, at the same time, an expectation that tenure criteria would be in tune with the reality of the setting in which they worked, main setting or sattelite setting. A gradual movement toward formalization around a single standard of judgment and a double standard of support and work conditions appear as duplicity and hypocricy to many who had been teaching for ten or more years. Without consistency between tenure and the work situation the path led into confusion and vacillation for administrators, to uncertainty and eventually a climate of frustration for the faculty. Attempts to modify procedures without addressing policy only produced more ambiguity and individual despair. Attempts to "add on" criteria that have not been part of the tenure tradition, reviewing positions rather than personal performance or applying numerical quotas, were quickly perceived as a change of rules and interpreted a breach of faith.

Retirement is the second area where policy issues dominate the reactions. Here, however, there is one example of excellent policy. Whether by accident or design there is an artifact in the benefits calculations that makes it quite easy for persons with long service to look at the possibility of retirement from age 60 onward. The freedom to choose among sound alternatives produced the situation where 19 out of the 33 interviewees retired early. Predictably their reactions were highly favorable and they felt in control of their lives. The related area that would benefit from the same kind of flexibility is employment after retirement. A taper-off option with various short-term and part-time contracts available after 58 and up to 70 would likely produce the effects of the early retirement pattern. In this case the university itself would also enjoy gains because many people now move their consulting and research to other settings.

Academic program revision is the third area where policy determinations are needed. The rapid, even hasty, adoption of program review procedures with little attention to prior assumptions and subsequent dispositions has had detrimental effects. To obtain honest assessments from those involved in program review some asssurance must be given that they will not be victims of their own judgments. Unfortunately, if the experiences reported in these interviews are widely known, the damage to the whole concept of program review may already be irreparable.

THE PROFESSIONAL: There is ample evidence in the interviews that academic life is a deeply socialized existence. The depth of commitment is remarkable when one considers that nothing in the training for academe is as structured as preparation for the law or medicine. The

career path for the professor involves a long series of decisions and reinforcements which gradually move the individual into a tight network of values and behaviors. The motivators are very clear to the participants:

- high autonomy of thought and action in areas of expertise
- control over work schedule and workplace conditions
- respect and recognition, not necessarily rewards, for "good work" sometimes defined as service, sometimes as teaching, sometimes as intellectual excellence.

Academics are less subject to advantages of "position" as described by Kanter (1979) and more sensitive to qualities in the process; stability, consistency, equity, participation. The distinctive nature of these benefits and expectations together with the long slow socialization explain the infrequency with which professors compare their situation with other professions. A large number of persons who moved to non-academic work expressed surprise at finding more of the benefits they identified with the academy in the new situation. These background conditions in the profession support a number of observations.

The threshold out of the academic work is very high. Decisions were difficult to set up let alone conclude and the choice was often put off until the last possible moment. Contributing to the difficulty is the fact that the profession is a way of life and family, community activity, and associations are all involved in it.

The tradeoff on which faculty operate is very clear to almost all respondents. The balance between the autonomy given by their special competence and the security to practice the craft held out by the institution is seen as potentially unstable. Some few hedge against a

tip over but most faculty have rather direct expectations of what the institution should be doing to guard the profession. It is this line of accountability, to the intellectual tradition and to the faculty, that seems to many respondents to go unrecognized in today's environment. The interviewees reflect these conditions in their high sensibility to inequity and coercion in any form. The bitterness and thinly disguised allegations of deceit the respondents report are more often directed at the nature of the situation rather than at specific individuals.

Decisions are made alone. There is a great deal of "social information processing" but it comes from careful evaluation of the signals in the immediate situation and national climate rather than from extensive discussions with colleagues. Just about all mentions of discussions were in fact cases of reporting the decision to associates. There is an interesting exception to this tendency not to discuss conditions prior to decisions. At two campuses and one department the atmosphere became "superheated" in terms of tensions, perceived errors, and anxiety. Rather suddenly, it appears, communication among faculty members increased to unusual levels giving corroboration and new evidence to reinforce individual views.

There are no marked "trigger" incidents or precipitating events that produce career change decisions for our respondents. The development was slow, usually over three or more years, and result from an accumulation of happenings.

Choice sets for the decisions to change job situations are developed, at least for this group, from personal networks of various kinds. Parallel activities in consulting, continuous contact with the institution at which one previously studied or worked, affiliations and

exchange on special topics of national interest, these are typical avenues for change. For a small number, about ten in all, formal retraining undertaken at their own initiative provided the means of transition. There was no report of a specialized career counseling service being used although several subject reported the use of national registers of professional associations.

Outcomes of change are favorable in almost all cases. They are made by favorable unanticipated gains such as better benefits, more regular working hours, clear paths for advancement, and direct returns on one's efforts.

The administration of policy in times of change and particularly in times of decline is more difficult than anyone anticipated. Respondents, and seven had been administrators, fixed their criticism on the quality of behavior by administrators at all levels. The citations of events were complete enough to support a conclusion that people in these roles were called upon to meet situations beyond their training and experience. They apparently had no benefit of analyses in advance of the forces at work and the likely consequences. The pressures of recent years also brought to the surface bad practices that had been ignored by faculty free to pursue their own interests. When collective interests rose in importance then favoritism, secrecy, oligarchy, vacillation, and ineptitude produced anger or frustration. The costs to administrators, according to our respondents, were as high as the costs to faculty. Just where a remedy lies is difficult to see but it is clear that it is no time for trial and error or folk administration.

RETIREES: Even though retiring appears at first glance to be a special kinds of career change, the decision process shows many of the features that go with changing institutions and moving to non-academic employment. The "social information processing" occurs in the impersonal mode of information gathering. The "hygienes" are strong. Only the "motivators" are less well defined and the influence of the personnel situation stronger.

In the total group of thirty-three retirees a majority, nineteen, retired early between sixty and sixty-four. The motivators in the personal setting were a strong influence on twelve respondents. A few had specific new opportunities but most saw the decision as part of life development. "It was just time." "Everything came together at the right time." "I wanted to get out while I was still in charge." Getting ready for the decision to retire was more a matter of exploring options than making definite plans. Only one person reported a "grand plan" that he was pursuing.

Negative personal factors, a chief determinant in one third of the retirements, were all products of health or family conditions. Acceptance of debility comes slowly and many tried all manner of adjustments to keep up their professional work before deciding to retire. Fortunately, there was often enough latitude in the immediate working situation, a department or college, to permit a humane resolution to the issue by their own choice.

The largest number of comments from the retirees dealt with the work situation or task environment. On the positive side, the effects of one aspect of the university retirement plan drew strong endorsement. The option of retiring at sixty-two with nearly full benefits for those who have been at the University for thirty years is a policy with almost

model consequences has been discussed under general conclusions. Services connected with retirement were mentioned favorably by a third of the respondents. At the same time several who encountered special emergencies found the process inflexible for the exceptional case, which required rapid processing or negotiation by proxy.

Most of the strongly negative comments on the work situation, made by nineteen of the respondents, clustered around two factors. One, understandably, was mandatory retirement at sixty-five especially since the seventy year level was imminent. Also part of the that bitter reaction was the policy that prohibits payment by the university to retirees. A few were doing work gratis for their departments. Others were on projects with professional associations or with consulting groups. All who were able to continue in their professional activity, over half the sample, resented the inflexibility of University policy.

Changed to another academic institution. Changing to another institution still within academic profession was the point of decisions in fifty-seven of the 130 cases. It cannot be determined how many of the changes were the product of actual or anticipated tenure decisions. It is clear that quite a few other factors generate a decision to move. It was factors in the work situation that prompted the decision in almost all cases. Extramural conditions were not seen to be significant by any respondents in this group, in contrast to those who moved out of academe work.

Where personal factors had a positive or "pulling" effect it was most often a strong personal attachment to another person (sixteen cases). It is worth noting that in this sample it was husbands or male friends in most cases who elected to follow wives or girlfriends. A

small number, five, acted to "break out of a rut" or "get off a plateau." In another six responses the desire for a different climate, region, or community was emphasized.

Positive situational factors were reported by eight persons who were "pulled: to another situation by direct offers that touched the key motivation of "recognition," "advancement."

It was negatives in the situation surrounding professional practice that played the largest part in decisions to move and they left respondents with residual feelings of anger, resentment, and cynicism that were freely conveyed to the interviewers. Criticism of policy itself, particularly the absence of goals, was made by only six respondents. In general, however, it was not the policy on tenure or program review that caused difficulty. The administration of policy, converting principles into decisions, is clearly the source of most pressure to move. In all, thirty-five respondents acted in rejection of these conditions. The making of tenure decision's is, in the words of one interviewer, "dark and bloody" ground often made so by a long series of favorable reports and reviews of an individual's work followed by a single adverse decision, by changes in the criteria from year to year, and by committees that were casual or contentious in their procedures ("the committee was a political trap"). The next most frequently mentioned pressure came from program situations where changes in support levels quickly took on the appearance of "broken promises." Haste to demonstrate the arrival of change rather than orderly phasing of major program alterations accounts for some of the unhappy events (I was recruited for a program that was closed in my first year"). Withal there is much to be learned about managerial processes that will reduce the negative consequences to the institution as well as the individuals.

There were a few other kinds of negative situations. Interpersonal conflict was reported by four persons and evidence of apparent sex discrimination by two others.

Those who transferred to other academic situations were asked about sources of satisfaction in the new situation. It was "autonomy," and "improved collegial relations," a hygiene in the Herzberg classification, that brought new satisfaction. Four individuals reported less satisfaction in the new situation because of a small department or program.

MOVED TO NON-ACADEMIC EMPLOYMENT: In contrast with both retirees and those who found other academic jobs those who moved into non-academic work, 36 in number, identified factors outside the university as important to the decision. They also presented a diverse collection of personal factors. Although the change brought satisfaction to all but three or four, many mentioned a preference for academic life in a "good situation."

The sources of satisfaction are varied; more control of their life, much more recognition and an increased sense of personal worth, more contact with colleagues, a focus on one area of work instead of several.

Personal factors in the decision tend to emphasize the need to improve the quality of life by getting more involved in the family and marriage, supporting a life style (travel, theatre, music) to which one was educated, spending more time "with people I care for," "taking an interval to think."

On the extramural scene 20 out of 36 respondents cited factors that went into their decision. The impact of inflation on universities and

academic salaries came up most often. The belief that universities had become out of touch with both the people they serve and national developments in knowledge and technology was presented often. The decline in enrollment was seen inevitably foreclosing the future development of institutions in higher education. The climate in the state with respect to funding for higher education was seen to be bleak.

Again, it was the negative assessments of the work situation that generated the pressure to move in all but one or two cases. In 14 cases it was the administration of policy on tenure, promotion, objectives, and support. About half that group were denied tenure but the message came late and in ways that left cause for resentment. Another group of 9 respondents found the work situation deteriorating. Workloads increased or changed to an undesirable mix. Rewards were neglected or misplace. Teaching itself became less interesting, "a chore" and morale sagged with an emphasis on "getting rid of people," or "people running scared."

The group that moved to non-academic employment made a wider assessment of the factors involved but appear to have reached a decision more quickly, over about a year.

SUMMARY

This study described some of the factors that go into the decisions of academics who make career changes. The findings apply only to the career changes and any attempt to generalize them beyond this marginal group would be a major misinterpretation of the data. It is clear that the largest proportion of the faculty, those who continue in their work, are operating under a very different and more favorable set of factors.

The potential value of the topic under study and the findings lies in quite a different direction. It is seen primarily as a contribution to the future structure of personnel policies in academic institutions. The rationale and context are as follows: Only be increasing the rates of departure and entry can the academic world accommodate the complex cross currents that are now visible (See Palmer, Zclan in AAHE 1978). The development of new talent, more equity in the mix of ethnic, racial, and gender representation, a geographic redistribution to follow population, meeting the differential growth patterns among fields of study, a better translation of knowledge into practice, and the improvement of public understanding; all these factors press in upon faculty personnel decisions. Institutions can show these issues and operate as closed systems as many do now and will do. But the scenarios for the future that accompany "closed system" policies turn out in the long run to be as damaging to the institution as they are to individuals and to society at large. A more appropriate response for universities and systems of institutions is to develop an "accelerated flow model". This design would view the institutional boundaries as more open and cultivate more exchange with the extra-mural environment of practice and application. In effect a conscious effort would be made to increase the outward flow of faculty from all disciplines at age levels of, say, thirty-five, and up. Policies to make change easier would constitute the chief mechanism for opening a wide range of mid-career options. Something very much like this now happens in medical schools where faculty "retirement" rates in age group thirty-five to forty-five are quite high.

The creation of an "accelerated flow" pattern within an institution is, quite obviously, a complex matter going far beyond mere accommodation of individual decisions. There are three compenents, the personnel

policies of the institution, the actuarial analysis and related fiscal conditions on which policies must be founded, and finally, the nature of individual career decision-making over topic of the moment. The crucial areas for policy are becoming clearer; variable retirement options, partial employment contracts, support during job transition, etc. (Patton 1979, AAHE 1978, Jenny 1979). The actuarial base is being developed but rather cautiously. The nature of individual faculty decisions is under study. To meet the changes of the near future and preserve the quality of higher education and its three basic functions, teaching, research, and service, these three components must be combined by modeling, experimentation, and trial options to provide an academic personnel system more open to exchange. The time is at hand for a complete approach to the career issues in faculty personnel policies.

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